1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION VII.

LANGUAGE.

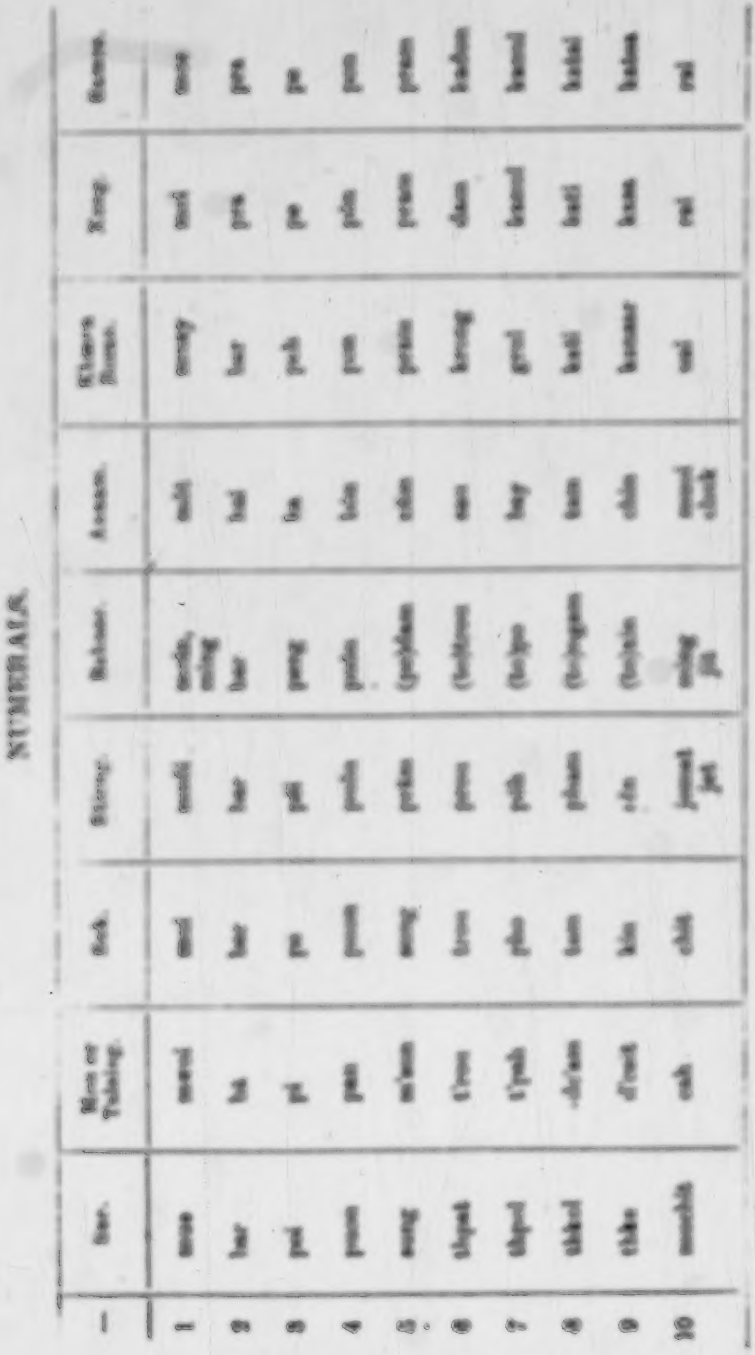
197 BEFORE commencing to describe the more salient features of the Khasi language, its grammar, and syntax, it seems to be of importance to show how intimately connected Khasi is with some of the languages of Further India. In the middle of the last century Logan pointed out affinity between Khasi and these languages, but it has been left to Professor Kuhn to prove this connection to demonstration. The examples of comparative vocabularies which follow are taken from Kuhn's "*Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*," Sir George Scott's "Upper Burma Gazetteer," and Sir George Campbell's lists. It will be seen from the collections of words that follow how Khasi possesses many words in common with Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khamen-Boram, Xong, Samre, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, and Wa. There is some correspondence, although perhaps to a lesser degree, between Khasi and the Ho-Munda languages and those of Malacca and the Nancowry language of the Nicobar Islands.

192 197 Let us now examine the table of numerals. The Khasi word for 1 is *wei*, but in the Amwi dialect of Khasi it is *mi*. In Khmu the word is *mui*, also in Suk: in Mon *muoi* and in Xong *nuoi*. The word for 2 is identical in Khasi and Lemet, viz. *ar*. The word for 3, viz. *lai*, is identical in Khasi and Wa; also compare Lemet *lohe*. Khasi *saw* and Lakadong *thaw* for 4 are, however, deviating forms. In the case of 5, if we cut out the prefix *m* in the Mon word *m'san*, we have fairly close agreement with the Khasi *san*. In the numeral 6, if we cut out the prefix *hiu* of the Khasi (*hiu*)*riw*, and the initial *t* of Mon and Suk *t'rou*, *trou*, we have close agreement. In the Khasi words for 7 and 8 the syllable *hiu* is but a prefix. This is also probably the case in the Khasi word (*khyn*)*dai* for 9, and the *shi* in the Khasi word *shiphew*, 10, merely means one.

P. 198

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

192
197



1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

NUMERALS.

—	Khmu.	Lemet.	Palaung.	Wa.	Dialects of Khasi.				
					Khasi.	Lakadong.	Amwi.	Synteng.	Mynnar or Jirang.
1	mui	mus (mos)	lé	to	wei	bi	mi	wi	mi
2	bar	ar	ê (a)	ra (a)	ar	a	o	ar	ir
3	pe	loho	cé	lai	lāi	lōi	la	la	lei
4	puon	pun (pon)	phun	pon	saw	thāu	siá	so	so
5	pfuong	pan	phan	hpawn (fan)	san	thān	san	san	sān
6	tul	tal	to	laiya (lia)	(hin)riw	thro	thrau	ynro	threi
7	pul	pul	phu	a-laiya (alia)	(hin)iew	(hum)thloi	ynthla	ynniaw	ynthlei
8	ti	ta	ta	s'to (su'to)	phra	humpya	humphyo	phra	humpyir
9	kash	tim	tim	s'ti (su'ti)	(khyn)dai	hunsulai	hunshia	khynde	khyndai
10	kan	kel	kon (ko)	kao	(shi)phew	shiphai	shipho	(shi)phaw	shiphi

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It will be seen that there is considerable similarity in the numerals of the different languages up to six, the correspondence being most strongly marked in the numerals 1, 2, 5, and 6. If we remember that primitive people seldom can count higher than the number of digits of one hand, the dissimilarity in the numerals, as the end of the decade is approached, is probably explained. As the different people speaking these languages gradually advanced in civilization they learned to count further; but by this time they had become in some cases like those of the Khasis, the Palaungs, and Mons, widely separated from one another. As they advanced in civilization, and found the necessity of an improved notation, they manufactured numerals which differed from one another, although they retained the first few numerals they had made use of in their days of savagery. Let us now study some extracts from Kuhn's interesting comparative vocabulary.* We find many instances of agreement. I give some examples:—

Heaven.—Palaung, *pleng*; Khmêr, *plieng* (rain); Xong, *pleng*; Khasi, *bneng*. Mynnar (Jirang) *phanliang* seems to be very near Khmêr *phlieng*, and Palaung, and Xong *pleng*.

Day (Sun).—Khmêr, *thngay*; Mon, *tngoi*; Annam, *ngay*; Lemet, *ngay pri*; Palaung, *sengei*; Khasi, *sngi*; Lakadong, *sngoi*; Kol, *singi*.

Year.—Mon, *snām*; Annam, *nam*; Stieng, *so'nam*; Bahnar, *sanam*; Khasi, *snem*.

Lightning.—Mon, *l'lī*; Khasi, *leilih*.

Stone, Rock.—Mon, *tmā, k'maw*; Stieng, *to'mâu*; Bahn, *tmo, temo*; Khmêr, *thma*; Xong, *tmo*; Palaung, *mau*; Ba, *maou*; Khasi, *maw*; Wa, *hsi-mo, hsi-mao*. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang) *smaw*.

Water.—Palaung, *em*; Khasi, *um*; Lakadong, *am*; Amwi, *am*; Mynnar (Jirang), *ām*; Rumai, *om*. Probably the Stieng *um*, to bathe, can be connected with the Khasi word for water.

Sea, pond, or *tank.*—Khmêr, *ping*; Khasi, *pung*.

Rice.—Mon, *sro*, paddy, seems to be in connection with Khmêr, *srur* (spoken *srau* or *srou*).* Xong *ruko* is in Palaung *rekao, sakao,* or *takao*. These words remind us of the Khasi

* Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens."

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

197 192 *khaw*, which seems to be borrowed from the Shan *khaw* (*hkao haau*).

Dog.—The common word for this animal will be found to be nearly the same in sound in many of these languages, e.g. Suk, *cho*; Stieng, *sou*; Bahnar, *ko, cho*; Annam, *cho*; Xong, *tcho*; Mi, *khmu*; Lemet, *so*; Palaung, *tsao, hsao*; Khasi, *ksew*. The Mon *khluiw* is the same as the Khasi *ksew*, if l is changed into s. The Lakadong and Synteng dialects of Khasi have *ksaw*, and Mynnar (Jirang) *ksow*.

Rat, mouse.—Mon, *kni, gni*; Stieng, *ko'nei*; Bahnar, *kone*; Khasi, *khnai*.

Swine.—Bahnar *niung* is evidently Khasi *'niang*, the abbreviated form of *sniang*.

Tiger.—Mon, *kla*; Stieng. *klăh*; Bahnar, *kla*; Khmêr, *khlā*; and Khasi, *khlā* are evidently the same. With this compare the Kol *kula, kulā, kūlā*.

Bird.—Sue, *kiem*; Mon, *g'cem, ka-tsim*; Hüei, *chiem*; Stieng, *chum*; Bahnar, Annam, *chim*; Xong, *chiem*; Palaung and Wa, *hsim*, and Khasi *sim* are clearly the same. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang), *ksem* which is very near to Mon, *g'cem*.

Fowl.—Hüei, *kat, yar*; Suk, *yer*; Bahnar, *ir*; Stieng, *iêr*; Khmu, *yer*; Lemet, *er*; Palaung, *her*, and Khasi, *siar*, abbreviated into *'iar*, are probably the same.

Fish.—The word *ka* or *kha* runs through the following languages:—Mon, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, Wa: and if we cut off the first syllable of the Khasi word for fish, *dohkha*, we find *'kha*, which is the same word as in the languages above mentioned, with an aspirate added. The Khasi *doh* merely means flesh, and the word *dohkha* is very frequently abbreviated, cf. *'kha saw, 'kha iong*.

Crab.—Mon, *kh'tām*; Khmêr, *ktām*; Khasi, *thām*. If we add the gender sign to the Khasi word, it becomes *ka thām*, and we have exact correspondence.

Woman.—Mon, *brou* or *brao*. Is this the same as the Khasi (ka) *briw*?

Child.—So, *kŏn*; Suk, *kon*; Mon, *kon*; Hüei, *kuon*; Annam, *kon*; Khmêr, *kun*; Khasi, *khun*. Compare Nancowry, *kon*.

Eye.—The word *măt, mat, māt*, runs through several of these languages, e.g. Mon, *mat*; Huei, *mat*; Stieng, *mat*; Bahnar,

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

mat; Annam, *mat;* Khasi, *khmāt* (dialectic *māt*). In Nancowry compare *olmat*, eye, and *okmat*, eyebrow, and (*e*) *mat* (*hen*) *mat* (*drug*), *mat*, of the Nicobar dialects, also Semang *mat*, *met*, *med*. Kuhn remarks that the word *mat* is common for "*sight*," and "eye" all over the Malay Archipelago. It should be remarked that in the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *māt*.

Nose.—If we cut off the aspirate *kh* from the Khasi *khmut*, which thus becomes *mut*, we find some correspondence between Mon, *muh* (*mu*); Stieng (*tro*), *mŭh;* Bahnar, *muh*. Here also compare Ho *mua*, *muta;* Mundari, *mun;* Uraon, *moy*. In the Anwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mur-kong*.

Hand.—Xong, *ti;* Mon, *toi;* Annam, *tay*, Khmer, *te* (from *sang te*, finger); Palaung, *tae*, *tai*, and Khasi, *kti* (with prefix *k*) closely correspond. The forms *ta* and *toi* of Amwi, and Lakadong, respectively, still more closely correspond with the Mon-Khmer languages than with Khasi. Here compare Nancowry *tei* and *ti*, or *ti* of the Kol languages.

Blood.—Palaung *luam*, and Wa *nam* closely correspond with Khasi *snám*; here compare Khmêr *jhām*.

Horn.—Mon, *grang*, the horn of an animal, may be compared with the Khasi *reng*.

Far.—Distant. Bahnar, *hangai;* Annam, *ngai;* Khmêr, *chhngay;* Lemet, *sngay;* Sue *chngai* may be compared with the Khasi *jing-ngai*. Amwi *shajngoi* seems to be a closer form to the above than Khasi *jing-ngai*. But compare Mynnar (Jirang), *chngi*, which is clearly very close to Sue *chngai*, and Khmer *chhngay*.

To weep, to cry.—Mon, *yām;* Khmer, *yam;* Khmu Lemet and Palaung, *yam*, are clearly the same as Khasi *iām*, with which also may be compared Ho *yām*.

It is interesting to note that the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi, which are spoken by the people who dwell on the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, seem more closely to correspond with the Mon-Khmer forms than even with Khasi. The Mynnar or Jirang dialect of Khasi, spoken on the extreme north of the hills, also appears to possess some words which are very similar indeed to some of the Mon-Khmêr forms given by

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hangto*, there (within sight); *hangne*, here; *hangta*, there (out of sight); *hangtai*, there (at some distance); *hangtei*, there (upwards); *hangthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hangno*, *nangno*, whence, contain the inherent root *nga*, and it seems possible that this *nga* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hangto* would mean literally "to me there," *hangthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nangno*, *nangne* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here."

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit mynta*=he will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *tang shu*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *kham*, *shait* (used to, ever); *pat* or *put* (yet); and *shym* (not); but *shuh* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *myn*, e.g. *mynhynne*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *man*, *man la*, and *hala* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:—

Nouns.	
kajain ka nep	cloth.
ka kot ka sla	paper.
ka lynti ka syngking	road.
ka iing ka sem	house.
u babu, u phabu	babu.
u tymen u san	elder.
ka stih, ka wait	arms (lit.: shield and sword).
u badon ba em	a well to do person.
ka spah ka phew	wealth.
u kha-u-man	a relation on the father's side.
Verbs.	
pynsuk-pynsain	to comfort.
ia shoh ia dat	to scuffle.

* Khasi *ktin kynnoh*.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

193
192

VERBS.

byrngem-byrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepsmiej	to be afraid.
ihthuh-ihthaw	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpon	to beg.
ia lum-ia lang	to assemble.

ADJECTIVES.

basniw-basmeh	bad.
basnat-basting	active.
donbor-donsor	powerful.
don burom-don surom	noble.
bakhraw-batri	pertaining to a noble family.
baduk-basuk	poor, needy.
babok-basot	righteous.
bariwbha-riwmiat	wealthy.

ADVERBS.

hur-hur	delicately.
hain-hain	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prem-prem	prominently.
rymbiaw-rymboin	shrinkingly.
nior-nior, niur-niur	shakily.
ior-ior, iar-iar	weakly.
parum-pareh	many.
sip-sip, sap-sap	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	MIKIR.	KHASI.
belly	*pŏk*	*kpoh.*
strike (v.)	*chŏk*	*shoh.*
father	*po*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*càng*	*wan.*
rice beer	*hor*	*kiar.*
maternal uncle	*nī-lur*	*kni.*

197 The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is *u briew*, not *u briew*, a son is a *u khon*, not *u khun*. Standard *ng* is often represented by *nj*. Thus *doinj* for *ding*, fire. A final *h* often appears as *k*, and an initial *h* as *p*. Thus, *baroh* (Standard), all, becomes in Lyngam *prok*.

197
193
194

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz.:—

1. By suffixing *let*, as in *ong-let*, said.
2. By suffixing lah-let, as in *dih-lah-let*, went.
3. By prefixing *lah*, and suffixing *let*, as in *lah-ong-let*, said.
4. By prefixing lah, as in *lah-kyllei*, asked.
5. By prefixing *ya* (*yng*, *ym*), as in *ya-nai*, gave; *yng-kheit*, shook; *ya-pait*, broke; *ya-jai*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *ya* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *rip*, strike; *ryaip*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pan-ya-sop*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative prefix *pyn* becomes *pan* in Lynngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Grierson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lynngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aboriginal languages.

The prefix of the Imperative is *nei*, as in *nei-ai*, give; *nei-lam*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *nan-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

802
192

LYNNGAM	STANDARD (KHASI).
1. *Wa-e, shi*	*Wei, shi.*
2. *Ar-re* or *a-re*	*Ar.*
3. *Lai-a*	*Lai.*
4. *Sa-re-re*	*Saw.*
5. *Sna-de*	*San.*
6. *Hyrre-re-re*	*Hiniw.*
7. *Hyanju-re*	*Hinniew.*
8. *Phra-re*	*Phra.*
9. *Khnadai-re*	*Khyndai.*
10. *Shi-phu*	*Shi-phew.*

The peculiarity about the Lynngam numerals is the suffix *re*, and the numeral "five" *de*. None of the other dialects of
192 Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Grierson's Volume may be

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

referred to for a Lyngam Vocabulary. I make the following additions :— 192

English	Lyngam	Khasi (Standard).
Hearth	paw	ka dypei
Earthen pot	kheow	u khiw
Flesh	mim	ka doh
Spoon	jamplai	ka siang
Sleeping-room	syrkut	ka'rumpei
Drinking-gourd	longtang	u skaw
" "	longjak	u klong dih-um
Broom	shipuat	u synsar
	Clothing.	
Turban	khabong jain brung	ka jain spong
Ear-ring	kurneng	ka shohshkor
Apron	shiliang	ka jymphong
Haversack	jolonjwa *	ka pla
Cap	pokhia	ka tupia
Girdle	pun-poh	u saipan
Under garment (female)	jain tongpan	ka jympin
	Domestic Terms.	
Pestle	synraw	u synrei
Door	phyrdaw	ka jingkhang
Fowl house	kjor syar	ka sem siar
Portion of house in front of the hearth	nengiaw	ka nongpei
Do. behind the hearth	shangla	ka rumpei
Store-house	siang	ka ieng buh kyba
Millet	jrai	u krai
Indian corn	soh rikhaw	u riw hadem
Arum	chew	ka shiriew
	Agricultural Implements.	
Spade	wakhew	u mohkhiew
Bill-hook	wait-bah	ka wait Lyngam
Do.	wait-koh	ka wait khmut
Axe	dapam	u sdi
Basket used in reaping and sowing	khyrnai	ka koh rit

* Assamese loan word, a corruption of "*jalungá*."

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

by BHABANANDA MUKHERJEE

Dept. of Anthropology, Govt. of India

Calcutta

(Received on 20th October, 1957)

Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-niam*)[1].

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mamluh and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kakur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kynthei*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'poh* and *Ka-iing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

---

[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 89.

[2] Op. cit., page 82.

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 192 773

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*).

614 551

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited.

613

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan.

613 614 551

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below.

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; har ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynean
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hazi ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpilian	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

596

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an

[Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

/See category 116 for numerous native terms which are used and defined in this text. These have been marked for pertinent subject categories. -- Analyst/

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 Term 19 and 20 — *para kur* and *para kha*; the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Term 21, 21/*a* and 21/*b*; — the *bakha* are cross-cousins.

Term 21/*b* shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *bah* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

[192] Term 23, 23/*a*, 23/*b*, — *ksiew* for grandchildren would appear to mean: dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *ksew*; not *ksiew*. The Pnár (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki ksu* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occuring designation of great-grandchildren as "cats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *khun ksiew* from *ksew* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

[197] Term 24 — *khun miaw* (i. e. cats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Plateau Khasi families. BERNATZIK considers with CREDNER, E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, MARABAILS and EICKSTEDT the possibility that the name of the Meau has been derived from cats [30]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group [31] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Meau are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "cats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *khun knai* (rats children) comments: — see: term 24, (supra).

601 602 Term 26 — *u ñi* — *u kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncles and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *u* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies older female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (comp. term 33/*e*). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained [32]

[30] BERNATZIK (1947), pp. 6, 7.

[31] BERNATZIK (1947), p. 445, though he denies the inclusion of the Meau into the Mon-Khmer group.

[32] EHRENFELS (1950), p. 34; (1951/*A*), pp. 3, 4, 5; (1951/*B*), pp. 73, 80, seq.